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CONTENTS

	Page
Henri MEYROWITZ: Reflections on the Centenary of the Declaration of St. Petersburg	611

*

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

Help to War Victims in Nigeria	626
International Committee Action in the Arabian Peninsula	634

*

EXTERNAL ACTIVITIES

Middle East - Mozambique - Vietnam - Austria and East Europe	637
--	-----

*

IN GENEVA

For Victims of Pseudo-Medical Experiments	641
A new ICRC film	641
Course for officers	642
Further Accession to the Geneva Conventions	642

*

In Memory of Leopold Boissier	643
---	-----

*

IN THE RED CROSS WORLD

Caribbean Experiment	645
--------------------------------	-----

*

BOOKS AND REVIEWS

*

Table of Contents (1968)	650
------------------------------------	-----

FRENCH EDITION OF THE REVIEW

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*

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GERMAN

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**"WAR AIMS" — METHODS OF WARFARE — THE RULES
OF WAR**

**Reflections on the Centenary
of the Declaration of St. Petersburg**

by Henri Meyrowitz

This article will be of special interest to international law jurists and we thank the author for thus allowing us to mark the centenary of an important Convention, the first of those, on the international level, which aim at prohibiting the use of certain weapons. It originated, as did the first Geneva Convention, at a time when universal bonds were becoming increasingly close with a view to defending humanity against the dangers of technical progress and as a result also of a keener perception of the community of interests uniting man. (Ed.)

I.

The oldest of the international conventions concerning the prohibition of the employment of certain weapons, that is to say deriving from that part of the law of war, sometimes known as the "law of The Hague", to distinguish it from the "law of Geneva", will be a hundred years old this month: the *Declaration of St. Petersburg of November 29—December 11, 1868*.

CENTENARY OF THE DECLARATION OF ST. PETERSBURG

The enacting terms of this text, which is still in force¹, have only a restricted range. It lays down that the contracting States mutually renounce "the employment by their military or naval troops of any projectile of a weight below 400 grammes, which is either explosive or charged with fulminating or inflammable substances". Of more importance is the *preamble* to the Declaration whose subject gives rise to certain reflections on the convention's centenary. The preamble reads as follows:

On the proposition of the Imperial Cabinet of Russia, an International Military Commission having assembled at St. Petersburg in order to examine the expediency of forbidding the use of certain projectiles in time of war between civilized nations, and that Commission having by common agreement fixed the technical limits at which the necessities of war ought to yield to the requirements of humanity, the Undersigned are authorized by the orders of their Governments to declare as follows :

Considering :

That the progress of civilization should have the effect of alleviating as much as possible the calamities of war ;

That the only legitimate object which States should endeavour to accomplish during war is to weaken the military forces of the enemy ;

That for this purpose it is sufficient to disable the greatest possible number of men ;

That this object would be exceeded by the employment of arms which uselessly aggravate the sufferings of disabled men, or render their death inevitable ;

That the employment of such arms would, therefore, be contrary to the laws of humanity.

Two factors can be distinguished in this text. First of all there is the definition of the "legitimate object" in war, then follows

¹ The States bound by the Declaration are not very numerous: Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Iran, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, U.S.S.R., Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey. The Declaration is affected by the famous general participation clause, by virtue of which the engagement would cease to be compulsory "from the moment when, in a war between Contracting or Acceding Parties, a non-Contracting Party or a non-Acceding Party shall join one of the belligerents". It is certain that the Declaration's enacting terms have not become a rule of international customary law which is generally obligatory. In spite of this, it cannot be excluded that the general participation clause should be considered to have been rescinded as a result of custom.

the notion, connected with this object, of *unnecessary suffering*. It is only by this last idea that the preamble has entered positive law. Article 23 (*e*) of the Regulation annexed to the Hague Convention of 1899 concerning the laws and customs of war on land, a provision which assumes the character of a customary law standard, stipulates that it is forbidden "to employ arms, projectiles, or material of a nature to cause superfluous injury", transcends the subjective idea of "unnecessary suffering". It is true to say that this expression is not defined and that, because of its vague, normative meaning, it is not easily determined. It is, however, indisputable that the prohibition has a wider range than that suggested by the official English translation of the authentic French text: "arms, projectiles, or material calculated to cause unnecessary suffering". What this paragraph prohibits are not only arms *intended* to cause superfluous injury, and even less those *intended* to cause *useless suffering*, but all methods which are *liable* to cause *superfluous injury*, whether such effect is specially sought or not. On this point, therefore, the preamble to the 1868 Declaration has received the sanction of positive law; but what can be said of the other point in the preamble: the notion and definition of the "legitimate object" in war?

II.

The first thing which one is obliged to observe when broaching the problem of the definition of the "legitimate object" of war or during war is the extreme conceptual and terminological confusion surrounding this notion. The second is the great difficulty presented by the problem itself. In part, this confusion and difficulty are alien to the fact and to the rule of war and are due to the multiplicity of the meanings comprising the word "object" in normal parlance and in philosophical language. The main point, however, is that confusion and difficulty are both peculiar in matters of war.

It appears that the different meanings in which the expression "object of war" or similar terms are used, can be grouped under three acceptations. All three are contained in the idea of war and are necessarily reunited in every international armed conflict.

Firstly, the plural expression *war aims* refers to concrete motives which decide a State to resort to arms and also to the designs it proposes to realize through the expected victory. Essentially varied and various, the "war aims" tend sometimes to the alteration and at other times to the maintenance of the *status quo ante bellum*. Belonging as they do to the realm of politics, they are external to the essence of war. To define these aims by an abstract term which should not, however, hide the reality of its changeability, one can use the expression the "political purpose of war". This concept does not concern the *jus in bello*. On the other hand, it does in part belong today to the *jus ad bellum*, but this aspect is outside the scope of our subject.

Secondly, as opposed to the "war aims", the *object*, the *end* or the *final purpose* of war is unique and fixed. This end, which is and remains the same in any war, is to force the enemy to bend to our will. In other words, the end of a war, the reason for which it is waged *by both sides*, is always *peace* whether such peace can either alter or consolidate the *status quo ante bellum*. This then is the ultimate purpose of a war. To achieve it, *victory* must first be obtained which constitutes an intermediate end, or rather a means in relation to the ultimate end. This concept of end or purpose of war assumes an abstract character which goes beyond the scope of law.

In the third case, the word "object" indicates the objective of the warlike activity, the strategic objective or objectives pursued with a view to placing the enemy in a position in which he is incapable any longer of fighting. This object is therefore in reality but a *means*. It is this *object-means* which forms the matter proper to the profession of war and it is in this sense that the notion of the purpose belongs to the *jus in bello*. When speaking of the "legitimate object which States should endeavour to accomplish during war", those who had drawn up the Declaration of St. Petersburg had this meaning of the word "object" in mind. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion with the concept of the *purpose of war*, it would seem to be preferable, if one is aiming at this third meaning, to talk of the *object in war*, rather than the "object of war".

Can one define the tenor of this object? It has been tried. The attempts, however, to reduce this to a single definition have

struck one or other of these reefs: either the definition is too narrow, or else it is too abstract to the extent that it possesses no practical utility and is not sufficiently differentiated from the notion of the *purpose* of war. In reality, the object in war is *multiple*. It consists of the objectives of different types of hostile activities comprising this overall action, war: the destruction or decisive weakening of the enemy land, sea and air forces; the occupation of enemy territory; the destruction of the enemy's military infrastructure; damage to his industrial potential, the interception of his maritime communications, etc.

From the assortment of hostile enterprises, the St. Petersburg preamble has extracted the one, which, at that time, was the most important, but by no means the only warlike activity: the *combat*. Those drawing up the 1868 instrument were also only thinking of *land* combat, and more particularly of infantry combat, even if the terms of the Declaration also applied to operations of maritime warfare. When proclaiming that the "legitimate object which States should endeavour to accomplish during war", entirely summarizing what in fact only constitutes the object of infantry combat, their language obviously went further than their intention. For they certainly did not intend to deny that other forms of land warfare, such as *occupation* and *siege* or that maritime economic warfare, with its institutions of *blockade* and *prize*, were sanctioned by the laws and customs of war, although these in no way had as their "object" the placing out of action of the enemy's *military forces*. Similarly, words betrayed their intention when they affirm as contrary to the "legitimate object" the employment of arms in military operations *rendering death inevitable*. What they had in mind was the condemnation of a particular category of projectiles, of which experience in the War of Secession had shown that they caused not only cruel wounds—this is the idea of "unnecessary suffering"—but more those which were *incurable* and had just been forbidden in the Russian army. The intention of the members of the international military commission was surely not to declare that it was overall not legitimate to employ arms *intended to kill* enemy combatants.

CENTENARY OF THE DECLARATION OF ST. PETERSBURG

Not only the definition of the "legitimate object during war" formulated by the drafters of the St. Petersburg Declaration failed to express positive law, but this first attempt in defining the object of war under a convention had no sequel. In 1874, Russia submitted a draft convention to the Brussels International Conference which first of all corrected the 1868 formula by stating in its § 2 that war operations are not only directed against the enemy's military forces but also against his *means of fighting*. A reference to the "object of war" can be found in § 3 of the draft¹: "In order to attain the purpose of war, all methods and measures, conforming to the laws and customs of war and justified by the necessities of war, are permitted". The term "object of war" (it will be noted that it was no longer a question of the "legitimate object") was here included in the meaning of the second and third acceptations mentioned above. However, as definition of the object of or in war was abandoned, reference to this notion became unnecessary. It therefore did not figure in the draft Declaration on the laws and customs of war adopted by 1874 Conference. It cannot be found in any other international convention relative to the law of war. No more did international customary law know of a notion, or even less, a definition of the object of or in war.

At first sight, the observation is a matter for surprise. Did not the St. Petersburg drafters have logic on their side which requires that the *object* is determined before deciding the *means*, in relation to this object? When drawing up the famous *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field* in 1863, which were the first national codification of the laws and customs of war on land, Francis Lieber did not think he could avoid mentioning, on four occasions, the notion of the object or the purpose of war, each time using a different expression applied to a different facet of the complex concept: "ends of the war" (para. 14); "ultimate object of all modern war" (No. 29); "war not its own end, but the means to obtain great ends of State" (No. 30); "object of the belligerent" (No. 68). This was too much theorizing for a national regulation on the law of war. This was all the more reason for an international convention not being

¹ The original official text existing only in French, we have translated it into English (*Ed.*).

able to accept such terminology, on whose interpretation no agreement could have been made. As for the alleged logical necessity for defining the "object of war", apart from the fact that formal logic is not an obligatory part of law, and in particular of the law of war, such reasoning is refuted by history. The law of war had been successful in regulating the means of war before 1868 in the form of the "laws and customs of war", as it has subsequently by international conventions, without ever including a definition of the "object of war".

III.

It is a fact that the law of war, exclusively applied to the means and incidents of war, has dispensed with a conventional or customary *definition* of the purpose of war or of the object in a war. There exists no international consensus of opinion on the *conception* of the legitimate purpose of war or of the legitimate object in war. Does this not then prove that this definition or consensus is not indispensable? Such a conclusion would appear to be excessive. If there has never been any definition or even an agreed conception of the purpose of war or of the object in war, there at least existed an *implicit notion*, a notion contained in the definition of means permitted or prohibited by the law of war. All that the past absence of any definition or conception of the legitimate purpose of war or of the legitimate object in war can prove, is that the law of war has *until now* been able to adapt itself to the absence of an international agreement on this definition or conception. It is therefore now a question of knowing whether it can continue to exist without a consensus of opinion, if not on the definition, at least on the conception of the purpose of war and of the object in war. If the law of war has been able to content itself only with bringing its attention and regulating efforts on the means of injuring the enemy, this is because there existed a hidden balance, on the one hand, between the legitimate means and, on the other hand, the legitimate purpose of war and the legitimate object in war. This inherent correspondence between the means and the object has been upset by the transformation which war has undergone over the last fifty years and above all since the second half of the

Second World War. This time, the whole structure of the law of war, and not of the "law of The Hague", which rested on this equilibrium, has been shaken.

In practice, this fundamental balance had been greatly facilitated by the fact that the technical means of war constituted the material limits of the idea which States had formed of the purpose of war and, above all, of the object in war. In fact, contrary to the superficial logical argument, as mentioned above, the existing relationship between the means of war and the conception of the purpose of war and of the object in war is not one of subordination, but rather a connection of correlation and interdependence. The nature and importance of the change which has taken place since the 1914-18 war in this complex relationship should be considered if one wishes to assess the influence of this transformation of the law of war. To do so, this relationship should be broken down into its components: the *object*, considered in the three meanings which have been given it, and the *means*. One should first take the development of each of these factors separately; then the reciprocal action of the two factors in their respective development should be considered. Finally, the point of impact of the incidence of these transformations and their combination on the law of war should be discovered.

"Purpose of war", "object of war", are *ideas*. These are not, however, views of the mind, but are formed by known geographical, demographic and military facts, by the economic, social and political conditions of the belligerent societies. They are linked with the dominant political philosophy of these societies and are in relationship with the level and standards of the civilization of the period. On this level of the conception of the object of or in war, international practice and legal doctrine have long been marked by opposition between what is known as the *continental concept* and the *Anglo-American concept* of war.

The name of Rousseau is bound with the former, although it should more authentically be known as the "continental concept", since it has only been able to be adopted by European continental States because they were adapted by their strategic situation to conditions of land warfare. The famous formula of the *Contrat*

social is known: " War is not a personal matter between individuals but between States. It is only by accident that men become enemies and then not so much as individuals or even as citizens; not as members of a country but rather as its defenders ". What is here being considered as connected with war, are in reality the three typical situations of *land warfare*: the battle, capture and occupation. Indeed in this sphere there has never been any conflict between the concept of Great Britain or the United States and that of the continental countries. This conflicting view originally chiefly concerned the sphere of *economic warfare* which is the vital strategic sphere of the maritime powers. The objective in war at sea is to cut the enemy's maritime communications. The enemy State is not only affected through its *soldiers*, its military forces and means, but also, and above all, through its *civilians*, their property, way of life and thus, indirectly, through their very lives. As a question of the law of economic and maritime warfare the Anglo-American conception has prevailed. On the other hand, the law of war has not permitted the attempt made by these same maritime powers to transpose to air warfare the rules which originated in a maritime environment and adapted to conditions of war at sea. It refused, in particular, to sanction the assimilation which had been attempted to establish between the *blockade* and the practice of *strategic air bombing*.

The continental conception could not fail to be shaken by the *development of the belligerent societies*. This has been characterized by the appearance of highly industrialized countries, whose war effort involves an economy under State control and the mobilization of all material resources and of human, physical and moral, energy. The distinction between combatants and non-combatants, the corner-stone of the classic law of war, has been maintained in principle, but its application has found itself considerably restricted by the extension of material objectives of a military nature and importance, considered to be legitimate targets. Upon this development of the economic and social infrastructure of States at war have been grafted new ideologies, whose main characteristics are hatred and proselytism. This social, political and ideological transformation of war which, in its main lines, appeared to have been

completed in the 1914-18 war, has led to what is known as "total war".

How can this phenomenon of total war be interpreted in the three meanings of the expression "object of war"?

1. The *war aims* have not become more excessive than they were in the past. Conquest, *subjugation*, annexation; these have long been aims. States can add refinements concerning the content they wish to give this object, but they cannot exceed the idea of these extreme aims.

2. The *purpose of war* is such an abstract notion that at first sight it does not seem to be susceptible of being extended. However, total war has not only made its impress on the conception which the belligerent States have of the concrete form of the peace which they propose imposing on the *defeated* enemy. It should be asked whether the very concept of the "purpose of war" has not undergone a modification. It should at least be seen that *peace*, which constitutes the *purpose* of war in the double sense of *object* and *end*, of the *cessation* of hostilities, has become ambiguous. In classic international law, peace does not only mean the termination of fighting, but the *outcome*, the *settlement*, the *solution* of a conflict in which belligerent States have opposed each other. Indeed, it can be observed that at a time of total war, States have a tendency to keep of peace only its meaning as the halting of armed hostilities, whilst a peace-settlement becomes an object ever more difficult to attain, because it is less and less sought. To this incapacity of States to terminate a war by the conclusion of a peace, there exists a corresponding deficiency in international law. The latter has, in the *jus ad bellum*, grappled with the task of limiting the legitimate motives of resorting to war. In the *jus in bello*, it has succeeded in imposing discipline on the development of a war, but has been completely powerless to regulate the conclusion of a war. This is a strange and most serious gap.

3. In the conception of the *object in war*, "total war" has effected the most striking changes. The war potential of States no longer residing solely in their armed forces and their material resources for these, anything which is now capable of contributing

to the enemy's power of resistance is liable to become an objective. The point has been reached when it is proposed to strike at the enemy State in its vitals, in its human and material *substratum*. Since the distinction between combatants and non-combatants is no longer completely valid from the *active* point of view, as regards the capacity of States to wage war, it is considered to be out of date from the *passive* angle, concerning the definition of permitted targets. It can now be seen that the point of impact of incidence on the law of war of the conception of the object in war is the problem of the *delimitation of legitimate targets* for hostile acts. It is certainly not through any caprice of language that to the three meanings of the notion of the "object of war", enumerated above, is attached this practical meaning, where the word *object* denotes, in a most concrete way, the *objective*, in the sense of *target*. This link between the object in war and permissible targets already appears in the wording of the Declaration of St. Petersburg in which "the only legitimate object which States should endeavour to accomplish during war" is defined in relation to an *objective*, presented as the sole legitimate target.

The conception of the object in war inherent in total war already constituted a threat to the law of war. This threat, however, was only really able to materialize, to the point of compromising the survival of the law of war, thanks to the *technological revolution* which has taken place in connection with the means of waging war. It was only when aviation was able to reap destruction and death far behind the front lines that the property and lives of civilians, until then only objectives in economic warfare, became possible direct targets. Starting with the strategic air bombing of the Second World War, this development was transformed into a veritable *revolution of war* with the invention of the atomic arm. This has been not only a quantitative change but also a qualitative mutation of war brought about by the association of nuclear explosives and rockets. By its very nature, the new weapon with a power of massive, blind destruction, is radically incompatible with the selective idea of a military objective.

There has been a dual influence of this new method of warfare on the "object of war". In the first place, it is this which has *enabled modifications to the "object" to be fully realized* which

were contained as a tendency in "total war". Secondly, the new method *modifies the object*, either because the latter has been the subject of rethinking, or else the content of the object has been transformed independently of man's intention. The whole of this action of the means on the object is dominated by the characteristic of the new arm, that of massive destruction. The *object in war* has thus been reduced to indiscriminate destruction. Having become an end in itself, destruction tends to substitute itself to the *purpose of war* itself. Rousseau, in the same chapter in which he set forth, in terms which have become classic, the founding of the most restrictive conception of the legitimate object in war, has defined the purpose of war in a formula which appears to us today to be shattering, but which, belonging as he did to his century, he found perfectly normal: "The purpose of war is to destroy the enemy State . . .". By this, he obviously did not mean the physical destruction, but the political and juridical annihilation of the conquered State. This expression has now taken on a precise and literal meaning. *Peace*, henceforth one of ruined cities, cannot be considered beyond a void, putting a stop to all thought. Even *political war aims* are dragged into this general destruction.

New methods and new objects in warfare support each other mutually. Extended by this development in belligerent societies which we have characterized by the term "total war", given excessive growth by the revolution in weapons, the *object in war* and the *purpose of war* in their turn enlarge these means. If the latter, the products of the imagination and of technical effort, have pushed back the material limits of the idea of the object in war and the purpose of war, the new inordinate conception of this object and purpose extends the traditional mental and moral boundaries set up around the methods of warfare. The new methods, with their extreme effects require to be "justified" which they will be by the conception of the extreme objects of war. This extension of the object and the purpose of war gives free passage intellectually morally, politically—and financially—to the development of new methods of unlimited destruction.

What is more important to note is that if the new conception of the purpose of war and the object in war, henceforth to be defined by utter destruction, is principally the result of the nuclear

revolution, it is independent of the nuclear arm. Once created, such a conception lays claim to control all wars. Forged by nuclear weapons, but prepared by the practice of target-area bombing in the Second World War, the new conception maintains its exorbitant character, even when, in order for it to be realized, it only employs conventional weapons. In this way, it can be said that conventional warfare has, intellectually speaking, been nuclearized.

IV.

The evolution which we have just described in broad outline of the "object of war" in relation with methods of warfare has led to a most disturbing situation. Athwart the question of the survival of the law of war, it calls in question the survival of civilization, the very survival of mankind. To this evil, for it is not a question of an eventual peril, but of a real, precise and present evil, is there then a remedy? Can this be found in political sagacity alone or public conscience or law? Without doubt there must be support from all three. All things considered, however, it is international law and the law of war in particular which is in a position to provide the most useful contribution to this vital task of rectification.

In the present state of international society, an agreement on the *legitimate political objects of war* does not appear to be realizable. The new international law has indeed proscribed certain objects of war by prohibiting wars of aggression. This interdiction, however, is affected on the one hand by the uncertainty surrounding the notion of aggression. On the other hand, and this is still more serious, the objects which international law forbids the aggressor belligerent, it tolerates for the latter's opponents. It has in fact to be admitted that international law can have no influence on the objects of war. As regards the definition of the *legitimate or purpose of war*, an international agreement is theoretically difficult to achieve, politically unlikely and would be practically of little use. This disillusioned observation certainly does not mean that one should resign oneself to leaving the conception of the objects and purpose of war in the disordered state in which it finds itself at

present. However, direct moderating action in this sphere is not a matter of law, but one of public conscience.

As we have seen, what is more serious than the development of the objects and the purpose of war is the transformation of the *object in war*. Now, the object in war *comes entirely under international law*, namely under *jus in bello*. Therefore, the law of war must be aware of the function and power devolving on it to regulate the object in war. It will succeed in having a hold on this object by carrying out its action on two points. The first concerns the *methods of war* of which we have noted that they constitute the most important factor in the enlargement which the object in war has known. The second, closely linked with the first, is precisely the point of impact of the incidence of this enlargement of the object in war on the law of war: the *delimitation of the legitimate objectives* of acts of armed hostility.

In connection with these two key points of the law of war: the *methods of war* and *objectives*, the standards are not lacking. It is rather man who has failed by not opposing existing standards to illegal development. It is not true to say that the law of war has stopped at the technological level and social state reigning in 1868, 1899 and 1907. This law is sufficiently flexible to take technical progress in armaments and the development of belligerent Societies into account. To *adapt oneself* does not however, mean resignation. The law of war should not forget that its essential function is *normative* and not one of recording. The principle of the Hague Regulations set forth at the head of Section II on "hostilities" remains unchanged: "Belligerents have not got an unlimited right as to the choice of means of injuring the enemy". This principle, referred to in recent military manuals on the law of war, marks out the unpassable limits, both quantitative and qualitative, at the same time for *weapons*, *methods* of employing arms and *objectives* against which use of weapons is permitted.

Without doubt, sociological and technological developments have led to a considerable extension of the notion of *military objectives*, which because of their nature, destination and use, constitute permitted targets. This extension, however, has its limits. Even in totalitarian regimes, the economic, social and ideological transformation of the State at war does not go so far as objectively

CENTENARY OF THE DECLARATION OF ST. PETERSBURG

to abolish the distinction between combatants and non-combatants. On the other hand, there is a point where the law of war refuses to follow the technical spirit without restriction. It does not allow civilian objectives to be designated as targets, under the pretext that swifter and more effective annihilation can be expected of political will-power and consequently of the enemy State's power of resistance by attacking its civilian elements (*civilian objectives purposely selected*). It does not accept that targets be determined, not on account of the character of the objectives, but because of the nature of the weapon (*civilian objectives selected by necessity*). It does not authorize the employment of *weapons* whose general effects, whether direct or indirect, are such as to exclude the idea of discrimination between military and civilian objectives (*weapons of massive destruction, intrinsically blind in their effects*), nor resorting to methods of using weapons practically excluding the selection of objectives (*massive bombing deliberately or necessarily blind*).

Finally, it is by *controlling the methods* and *limiting the permitted objectives* that the law of war controls and directly limits the *object in war* and, indirectly, the *purpose of war*.

Henri MEYROWITZ

Doctor of Laws
Advocate at the Paris Court
of Appeal

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

HELP TO WAR VICTIMS IN NIGERIA

In our last month's issue we gave an account of ICRC relief work up to the end of October 1968 in Nigeria and the secessionist province Biafra. This clearly brought out the scale and very considerable cost of the mission which will continue for months to come. As the financial situation had reached the crisis stage, the International Committee invited representatives of governments, National Societies and international institutions, able to help it, to a meeting in Geneva, in order to explain the facts which justify not only the massive scale of, but also support for, the Red Cross action. There were in fact three meetings, one of National Societies, the second of representatives of governments and inter-governmental institutions and the third of voluntary agencies.

In response to the invitation of the International Committee, 21 National Societies met on 4 and 5 November 1968. The League of Red Cross Societies was also represented. Chairman of the meeting was ICRC President, Mr. S. A. Gonard. Other speakers, Mr. R. Gallopin, ICRC member and Director General, Mr. A. Lindt, ICRC General Commissioner for West Africa, and Mr. E. Regenass, head of ICRC Administration and Finance, introduced discussions with explanations of various aspects of the situation. These are summarized below.

Since the beginning of the action on both parts of the disputed territory, Mr. Gonard said, 12,000 tons of food and medical supplies had been distributed and a further 10,000 tons were ready. The number of people receiving assistance was about 1,450,000 and

delegates had observed a noticeable improvement in health and a drop in death rates in all areas reached by the relief supplies. This encouraging result must, however, not obscure the fact that there were shortcomings and that there remained a vast amount of important work to be done.

An operation on such a scale required immense financial backing, for the large donations of food did not permit us to dispense with local purchases. In addition, all donations in kind necessitated cash resources for their forwarding, management and distribution. That was why, while goods in kind received up to the end of October amounted in value to 26 million Swiss francs, the ICRC's expenses rose concomitantly to 15 million Swiss francs, covering local purchases (6 million), urgently required medical supplies (1 million), transport (5.5 million), field personnel (2.5 million).

For future planning, it appeared expedient to look ahead for a period of four months, that is up to the end of February, during which time the ICRC would continue the essential work for the benefit of victims on both sides in the conflict, without any discrimination.¹ But the scale on which the action could be carried out was linked to the financial resources available and, hence, the full co-operation of the international community.

For that forthcoming period of four months we had 10,000 tons of relief goods in stock, 10,000 tons on the way and another 25,000 tons had been promised for December and January. In addition, there were the essential purchases to be made locally and expenses for transport and field personnel for forwarding and distributing. Such expenditure for the four months ahead, including special efforts in November and December, would amount to 42 million Swiss francs. The ICRC had ten million, so that it had still to find 32 million and hoped to be able to get this together with assistance from governments and National Societies.

In areas controlled by the federal authorities, namely the regions of Enugu, Calabar and Port Harcourt, the number of people affected by the conflict might be estimated at 2 million, about half

¹ We shall not revert here to Mr. Gallopin's mission in Lagos — see our November issue.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

of whom were in dire straits. This proportion would vary with the development of the situation.

In those regions as a whole, events had caused the collapse of civil administration. In the Enugu region the population had taken refuge in the bush and was beginning to come out to go to the relief distribution centres. Fewer people had gone into hiding in the Calabar-Port Harcourt region. Nevertheless, displaced persons made up the greater part of the population.

Needs were considerable and the relief action undertaken by the ICRC on territory under federal control included the weekly distribution of about 750 tons among almost 600,000 persons. This action was being carried out by truly international Red Cross teams working smoothly together. The ICRC was endeavouring to co-operate more closely with the Nigeria Red Cross and to include more and more of that Society's members in the relief teams. This trend was reinforced by the appointment, as Co-ordinator, of an experienced man, the former Secretary General of the Nigerian Red Cross.

In addition, a special effort has been made to have more African personnel participate in the ICRC's operation: 600 Africans in Biafra, 200 in Nigeria and 50 at Santa Isabel worked in the ICRC teams during November.

Operations were beset by transport rather than procurement problems. Stocks were adequate for some time forward. However, the Enugu depot could only be reached by a long road detour or by rail and lorry combined, as the railway was useless for a stretch of about 70 miles. From Calabar helicopters supplied by UNICEF were used to convey supplies.

Whilst it was difficult to estimate how many people needed assistance on territory under Biafran control, the number might be put at some 3.5 million.

Delivery of relief to Biafra was carried out by airlift from Fernando Po. By 3 November, 3,700 tons had been transported by this system which had been made possible by the generosity of National Societies. It was hoped that a land corridor could be arranged for the forwarding of larger quantities.

Civil administration was still functioning in Biafra and there was an active local Red Cross. Thanks to the relief network set up

**Under the auspices of the ICRC the relief
action in the secessionist province
of Biafra continues**



Photos CICR — Max Vaterlaus

To respond to this appeal...



Loading, at Santa Isabel, a "Hercules" chartered by the Swedish Red Cross.

Red Cross convoy brings these supplies to Ikot-Umo-Essien refugee camp.





Refugees wait at the Red Cross distribution centre at Udo.



A doctor distributing vitamins in the Nto-Edino refugee camp.

under ICRC auspices by the Swedish Red Cross, the supplies flown in were rapidly distributed to about 850,000 people. Despite relief work by the Red Cross and other organizations, supply distributions were inadequate.

Plans had to be made also for the ICRC's withdrawal after the conflict. This should be done progressively to avoid any adverse effect detrimental to the welfare of the population and jeopardizing the results achieved. The role of the Nigerian Red Cross would then be more important than ever.

Such was the task before us. It was of unspecified duration, required enormous resources and was a striking challenge which had to be accepted as more than a million people depended on our doing so. To break off the operation would have material and moral consequences for the population and would be of a gravity of which no one was unaware.

* * *

The following resolution was adopted unanimously during the meeting of National Red Cross Societies:

The National Red Cross Societies, meeting today, Monday November 4th, 1968, in Geneva, under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross, having taken note with interest of the reports presented to them concerning the operations carried out in the recent past and those foreseen for the future in Nigeria on behalf of all victims, on both sides, of the conflict in that country, agreed unanimously with the following statement:

The Societies have noted the necessity of pursuing and developing the said operations, in proportion to the very considerable needs which continue to exist and which may even augment.

The Societies have assumed the responsibility of supporting, by appropriate individual procedures, the approaches which the International Committee of the Red Cross will be making to their Governments with a view to requesting the necessary financial support.

The Societies may also launch any appeal necessary in their countries with a view to covering the inevitable administrative costs involved by these operations.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

The aforementioned Societies urge that gifts in kind should be accompanied by cash contributions since the distribution of relief unavoidably entails operational and logistical expenses.

Finally the Societies thank the International Committee of the Red Cross and all the volunteers in the field for their contribution to date towards the support of this important humanitarian action.

On 8 November, representatives of 34 governments and four major inter-governmental organizations attended an informative meeting organized by the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva. The meeting was chaired by ICRC President Mr. Samuel A. Gonard, and addressed by Mr. R. Gallopin and Mr. Lindt.

After reviewing the relief programme on Nigerian and Biafran territory, the ICRC requested the government representatives for strong financial backing to meet the vast expense required to provide the civilian population with relief.

The following press release was issued after the meeting:

With assistance from many National Red Cross Societies, several governments, inter-governmental agencies such as UNICEF, and voluntary organizations such as the World Council of Churches and OXFAM, the ICRC set afoot in July 1968, for the benefit of the victims of the Nigeria/Biafra war, the largest relief action ever undertaken by it since the last World War.

Although the relief food despatched and distributed so far by the ICRC and other relief organizations has not eliminated famine among the civilian population, it has appreciably reduced the infant mortality rate among the 1,450,000 refugees on both sides of the front whom distributions under Red Cross auspices have reached.

Needs, however, are still enormous and even increasing daily at an alarming rate. According to reports reaching Geneva, it is estimated that 4.5 million people will soon be fully dependent on assistance for all or part of their food.

In order to cope with this situation while there is still time, the ICRC has drawn up a relief programme for the next four months which provides for distribution of over 100 million francs worth of food and medical supplies, in addition to the considerable amounts

of relief goods which will have to be purchased locally. Transport and distribution expenses are high owing to the very nature of the action, so high in fact that the life-saving operation requires 32 million francs immediately if the whole programme is not to collapse.

As the ICRC's resources are now completely depleted, it is essential that it obtain very large financial backing urgently. For that reason it has invited government representatives accredited to the international organizations in Geneva to examine with it ways and means of raising the necessary funds for the continuation of its relief action for the benefit of all the victims of the conflict.

It was heartening to note during this first meeting, attended by representatives of 34 European, American and African governments, that the ICRC's appeal has already been heeded. The government of the USA has promised \$2.5 million, and the United Kingdom and Federal Republic of Germany have also promised substantial financial support. This is, however, only the first step.

Previously, the National Red Cross Societies also met in Geneva and, agreeing on the need to continue and develop the relief operations, undertook to support ICRC approaches to their governments and also to launch public financial appeals in their own countries for funds to cover the inevitable transport and operating expenses entailed by such a large-scale action.

The future of the ICRC's action in Nigeria/Biafra depends on the success or failure of these joint efforts.

* * *

We now give some particulars on the position at the end of November¹:

Relief.—The nutrition experts working for the ICRC in Nigeria/Biafra consider 125 grams of protein-rich food per day to be the absolute minimum for survival.

¹ *Plate.* — Red Cross convoy brings supplies to Ikot-Umo-Essien refugee camps.

Santa Isabel: Loading a "Hercules" chartered by the Swedish Red Cross. Refugees wait at the Red Cross distribution centre at Udo.

A doctor distributing vitamins in the Nto-Edino refugee camp.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

The cost of forwarding supplies by the airlift between Santa Isabel and Biafra is Sw. fr. 4,000 a ton, and by land, sea or inland waterway in Nigeria Sw. fr. 1,000 a ton, making an average of Sw. fr. 2,600 a ton.

Personnel.—Four medical, four medico-social and two relief teams, totalling 60 persons, are working at present in Biafra under ICRC responsibility.

On federal territory the teams have remained more or less the same, viz: 291 persons in 32 teams of doctors, social workers and technicians.

This network of relief personnel in Nigeria and Biafra was provided by the National Red Cross Societies of Australia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, German Federal Republic, Great Britain, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, USA and Yugoslavia, and by UNICEF, the World Council of Churches, the Save the Children Fund, the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, the Catholic Mission, the International Union for Child Welfare, and the Salvation Army. The Israeli government has made available to the ICRC the services of a team of three doctors for three months.

This impressive list is proof of the international effort in Africa, in response to the ICRC's appeals. Relief operations are carried on in co-operation with the local Red Cross.

At Santa Isabel (Equatorial Guinea) a staff of 48 runs the base from which the ICRC sends relief to Biafra.

Airlift.—The number of aircraft involved in the INALWA operation (International Airlift West Africa) has fluctuated over the last few weeks, mainly due to technical reasons. The Swedish Hercules C-130 had to return to Stockholm for overhaul and will be temporarily replaced by a DC-6, made available to the ICRC by the Swedish Red Cross.

In order to strengthen its fleet and pending the return of the Swedish Hercules heavy aircraft (payload 20 tons), the ICRC has chartered a second DC-6 from Balair of Switzerland. A German "Transall" has also been in the fleet since mid-November.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

Since 11 November the ICRC has had another DC-6 provided by the Netherlands Red Cross. Its services will be available until the 20 December.

In spite of many difficulties, this air fleet has enabled the ICRC to forward an average of 55 tons of relief supplies a day.

General Situation.—The following statistics summarize activities up to the end of November:

Number of flights in November 1968:	137
Total flights since 3. 9. 1968	462
Tonnage transported in November:	1,229 t.
Total tonnage since 3. 9. 1968:	4,357 t.
Persons reached by distributions (children, pregnant and nursing mothers):	850,000
Value of donations in kind, received or promised for the period November 1968-February 1969:	100,000,000 Sw.Fr.
Shortfall according to budget for October 1968-February 1969, drawn up on 28 October 1968:	32,000,000 Sw.Fr.
Shortfall as of 3 December 1968:	13,478,000 Sw.Fr.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ACTION IN THE ARABIAN PENINSULA

In 1963, the ICRC undertook a large-scale assistance action in the Yemen where fighting was taking place between Royalists and forces of the Arab Republic of the Yemen. As the conflict was prolonged, involving a considerable number of civilian and military casualties, it set up a field hospital at Uqhd in the northern part of the country; it also increased the number of its medical teams working in the interior. In addition, delegates visited prisoners of both sides, brought them relief and arranged for them to communicate with their families.

This action, continued in the mountains of the interior as well as at Sanaa and for which the ICRC was able to count on the active support of various National Societies¹, has in fact known no respite until now. The Uqhd hospital ceased functioning in 1965, but new tasks gave scope for initiative. Since a disturbing medical situation persisted in the North, the ICRC again sent out medical teams to that country. Red Cross interventions increased still further in the Arabian Peninsula when, in Aden in 1967 and in view of the recrudescence of disturbances on the eve of the territory's becoming independent, the ICRC sent delegates and subsequently doctors in order to deal with the serious lack of medical care.

The general situation in the Arabian peninsula, particularly in Yemen and Aden, compelled the ICRC to continue its medical aid, relief work and assistance to detainees.

¹ See, in particular, *International Review*, December 1963 and January 1964.

Sanaa.—The ICRC recently sent seven tons of powdered milk and two tons of cheese to Sanaa, by a Norwegian DC-6 B aircraft which it had chartered. This plane left Geneva on 11th November, called at Cairo and arrived in Sanaa on 12th November, where the ICRC delegates took delivery.

These supplies will be distributed during the winter to orphans, children in hospital, the maternity hospital and tuberculosis patients. There are at present two ICRC delegates in Sanaa organizing this relief work and supervising distribution. The Yemeni authorities have welcomed the resumption of this operation at the approach of winter.

In addition, in response to a request from the government of the Yemen Arab Republic, the ICRC has for the last few months been endeavouring to obtain technical assistance for the fitting of artificial limbs to the war-disabled. It has approached several National Societies for two orthopaedic technicians and the equipment necessary to set up an artificial limb workshop for the fitting, as a start, of 100 to 150 known disabled in Sanaa.

Unfortunately, the ICRC has not so far been successful in this quest, but hopes soon to be.

Last October, in agreement with the Yemeni authorities, the ICRC delegation arranged the evacuation of the last remaining group of women and children of the former Yemeni reigning family. These women and children, who had been living in Sanaa and Taiz, separated from the rest of their family, since the beginning of the conflict, were thus able, thanks to the ICRC, to join their family. A plane was specially chartered for the operation.

North Yemen.—The ICRC medical mission in the North of the country is being carried on by a team at a field station near the fighting zone, where it tends the wounded and sick victims of the conflict. The team consists of a delegate, a surgeon and four male nurses, all of whom were recruited in Switzerland. Under trying conditions, with scant surgical equipment and medical supplies, the team provides the wounded and sick with the attention they require, and even takes some in-patients for treatment. There being no medical service in the region, the wounded and sick would receive no medical attention at all, were it not for the ICRC team.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

Aden.—In Aden too, the ICRC is continuing the medical assistance it started a year ago. Almost unaided, its surgical team runs the operating theatres at the Al Gamhurian (formerly the Queen Elizabeth) hospital, the only civilian hospital still available to about 1.5 million inhabitants. All other hospitals had to close for lack of staff.

The surgical team comprises two surgeons and an anaesthetist who were recruited by the Rumanian Red Cross for the ICRC. It took over at the end of October from two surgeons recruited by the Bulgarian Red Cross. Both teams of eminent surgeons had each in turn already completed a three month mission at the Aden hospital at the beginning of the year, have performed a considerable number of operations and developed the tracking and treatment of serious illnesses.

In addition, the ICRC is supplying the Aden hospital with essential equipment and supplies not locally available.

The ICRC delegation has also been authorized to resume its assistance to persons detained in connection with the political and military situation in the People's Republic of South Yemen. Thanks to the facilities granted, the head of the ICRC delegation in the Arabian Peninsula, and his two assistants, have been able to investigate detention conditions for some 200 inmates of the Mansoura prison.

*EXTERNAL ACTIVITIES***Middle East**

Reuniting of families.—In the programme for the reuniting of families, organized and controlled by the ICRC delegations in Egypt and Israel, a further operation took place on November 14 at El Qantara.

This concerned 144 Palestinians returning to the Gaza area and 96 Egyptians going home to the Nile valley in the United Arab Republic.

More than 4,000 persons, of whom 2,000 Egyptians from El Arish, have returned in this way to the UAR, whilst about the same number of Palestinians displaced in Egypt as a result of the June 1967 conflict was able to return to the occupied territories of Gaza and Sinai. This required a considerable amount of detailed work by ICRC delegations in Gaza and Cairo.

In Jordan and on West Bank territory, in addition to the reunion of families regularly organized by the local authorities, the delegates of the ICRC also deal with the temporary or definite repatriation of those in difficult circumstances on account of their health or age.

Civilian messages and inquiries.—By November 1, 1968, the ICRC and the Lebanese Red Cross, with active support of the Egyptian, Jordanian and Syrian Red Crescent Societies, had transmitted half a million civilian messages between Egypt, Jordan and Syria, and the occupied territories of Gaza, Sinai, Jordan West Bank and the Golan Plateau. The ICRC has also transmitted several thousand mail items from a large number of Arab countries for the occupied territories.

In addition, in order to remedy the lack of contact between separated families, the ICRC delegations have intensified their

personal visits to families in order to give them news by word of mouth. This is much appreciated by those concerned who, through the ICRC's intermediary, now find a link re-established which had previously been cut.

By July 30, 1968, the Central Tracing Agency in Geneva initiated 382 inquiries on military personnel and by August 19 1,770 inquiries for civilians.

Mozambique

Mr. André Tschiffeli, ICRC delegate, rejoined Mr. Georg Hoffmann, delegate general of the ICRC in Africa, at Salisbury. After meeting the Rhodesian authorities, the two ICRC representatives went to Lourenço Marques in Mozambique, where Mr. Tschiffeli will be carrying out a series of visits to detainees in Portuguese hands.

Mr. Hoffmann will himself go to Ngwane, Botswana and Lesotho to visit the authorities and Red Cross circles of these three States, which have recently acceded to independence.

Vietnam

Visits to Prisoners.—The ICRC delegates in the Republic of Vietnam have throughout October continued their visits to screening centres to which are brought Vietnamese captured by the armed forces of the Republic of Vietnam or by the allied forces. After interrogation, the detaining authority decides whether these captives can be released, or held as prisoners of war or as civilian detainees.

Visits were thus made to two screening centres in American hands and a prisoner of war camp. A report on each of these visits was then handed to the detaining Power.

Lists of prisoners.—The Central Tracing Agency of the ICRC continues regularly to receive in Geneva lists of Vietnamese combatants to whom the Republic of Vietnam grants the status laid down by the Third Geneva Convention of 1949 relating to prisoners of war.

The basic list on January 31, 1968, contained 10,802 names to which have been added further lists which have had the necessary verification and checking. At the beginning of November, the total number of Vietnamese prisoners of war registered in Geneva amounted to 13,735.

These lists have been sent to Phnom-Penh, in Cambodia, where Mr. André Durand, delegate general of the International Committee, has informed the Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the delegation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam that he had these at their disposal.

Representations are, on the other hand, being continued to the Hanoi authorities and the National Liberation Front, in order to obtain lists of members of the South Vietnamese and allied armed forces taken prisoner either in North or South Vietnam.

Similar steps have just been resumed with the NLF in connection with civilians of American, Australian, British, Canadian, West German and South Korean nationality reported missing in South Vietnam.

Medical assistance.—Thanks to donations sent by the National Societies of 24 countries, which have responded to the joint appeal which the League of Red Cross Societies and the ICRC had made to them in February, an assortment of instruments for orthopaedic surgery was handed over to the municipal hospital of B  nh-Vi  n, Saigon, directed by Professor Dai. This material was brought and presented by Professor Maurice Edmond Muller, Director of the Orthopaedic Clinic of the H  pital de l'  le in Berne.

In addition, Dr. Alain Pellet of Geneva who has succeeded Dr. Barthold Bierens de Haan as ICRC doctor-delegate in South Vietnam, has resumed visits undertaken by his predecessors to orphanages in the Saigon area. Dr. Pellet also visits places of detention.

Austria and East Europe

Recently Mr. H. G. Beckh, ICRC delegate on mission, visited several countries in Europe.

He went first of all to *Austria*, where he discussed with Mr. Sevcik, Secretary-General of the Austrian Red Cross, at its

headquarters, several matters connected in particular with the reuniting of families, a problem with which the ICRC is concerning itself in many parts of the world.

He then visited *Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia*.

In Bucarest, he met leading members of the Rumanian Red Cross, amongst whom were Mr. A. Moisescu, President, Dr. L. Fotescu, Secretary-General and Mr. Patrascu, Director of External Relations. He exchanged views in connection inter alia with the following up of a certain number of resolutions of the XXth International Conference of the Red Cross, amongst which were those relating to the reuniting of families and the financing of the ICRC. Whilst in Rumania, the delegate was received by Mr. Malitsa, Deputy Chairman of Foreign Affairs.

In Sofia, Mr. Beckh had several talks with leading members of the Bulgarian Red Cross, including the President, Dr. K. Ignatov, and Vice-President G. Gospodinov, with whom he examined a number of questions which will be raised in 1969 at the next International Conference of the Red Cross in Istanbul and others connected with the practical development of humanitarian international law. Whilst in Bulgaria he met Mr. Bachev, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Ignatov, Minister of Health and Mrs. Daskalowa, Minister of Justice.

Finally, on his return journey, the ICRC delegate stopped in Belgrade where he met General D. Mesterovic, President of the Yugoslav Red Cross and Professor J. Patrnogic, Secretary-General. He had useful discussions with them on subjects of common interest connected in particular with the practical development of international humanitarian law.

*IN GENEVA***For Victims of Pseudo-Medical Experiments**

The Commission of neutral experts appointed by the International Committee of the Red Cross to examine cases of victims of pseudo-medical experiments practised in concentration camps under the Nazi regime, to whom the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is prepared to pay indemnities, again met at ICRC headquarters in Geneva on November 8 and 9. The Chairman was Mr. William Lenoir, Judge at the Geneva Court of Justice. He was assisted by Professor Pierre Magnenat, assistant doctor at the University Clinic of the Nestlé Hospital in Lausanne and by Dr. Sylvain Mutrux, Deputy Medical Director of the University Psychiatric Clinic of Bel-Air in Geneva. The Hungarian Red Cross was represented by Mrs. Sandor Böde, Dr. Pal Bács and Mr. Imre Pásztor, whilst Dr. E. Götz had been sent by the Red Cross of the German Federal Republic.

The files of a further group of 75 Hungarian victims were submitted to the Commission which accepted 57 of these, rejected 9, asked for additional information on 7 and left 2 cases temporarily in abeyance.

The Hungarian Red Cross had drawn up these files in co-operation with an ICRC mission consisting of Dr. Felix Züst, doctor-delegate of the ICRC and Miss Lix Simonius, delegate.

A new ICRC film

The International Committee has just produced a new film (16 mm.) entitled "Rescue" on the relief action which it has been pursuing for many months in Nigeria and in the seceding province of Biafra, in co-operation with a large number of National Societies and international relief organizations mentioned on several occasions

in the *International Review*. Of 20 minutes duration, the film is in colour and can now be obtained from the ICRC Information Department in French, English or German versions.

In a number of striking sequences and with a restrained commentary, it describes the terrible sufferings of the population in Biafra and the aid brought by Red Cross delegates and medico-welfare teams with a view to enabling these starving women and children to survive. The flight of civilians from war areas on tracks followed haphazard is also depicted. The Red Cross finds all its *raison d'être* in the work of assistance carried out by these doctors who examine, bandage and give comfort and the delegates who distribute dried fish and milk which aircraft, risking the dangers of night flights, deposit on makeshift airfields on which is marked the red cross emblem, as it is on their wings.

Course for officers

An introductory course in the law of war and the Geneva Conventions was held in Geneva from November 19 to 22, 1968, for officers of the Swiss army.

This course, attended by some fifty participants of all arms and ranks, took place in accordance with the programme given in the *International Review* in its number of April 1968.

Further Accession to the Geneva Conventions

The October 1968 issue of *International Review* mentioned that 121 States were parties to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949.

The ICRC has now been informed by the Federal Political Department in Berne of the accession of Barbados to these Conventions. It took the form of a declaration of continuity dated 20 August 1968, with effect from 30 November 1966, the country's Independence Day.

The number of States expressly bound by these Conventions is now 122.

In Memory of Leopold Boissier

In November 1968, the *International Review* published the sad news of the death of Léopold Boissier and recalled the fine and effective work of the former President of the ICRC for the Red Cross. In one of the leading Swiss newspapers¹, Mr. F. Siordet, Vice-President of the ICRC, paid a more personal tribute to him, which ended as follows:

In 1956, his colleagues of the International Committee called upon Léopold Boissier to become President. He was promptly to be put to the test. The ICRC had just been reorganized by a reduction of numbers during a period of relative peace. At that moment, there broke out, one after the other, the Suez conflict and the Hungarian revolt. It was again a question of improvising and creating to which the ICRC put all its energies. It was then that Léopold Boissier showed of what he was capable.

So great is his view of the ICRC's task and his own that he subordinates everything to it. He leaves his University teaching and resigns his position as Secretary-General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union to devote himself entirely and without remuneration to the ICRC. He assumed the duties of President in the same whole-hearted way as does a priest, to act as the colour-bearer of a transcendent idea and power. Indeed, the Red Cross is the master idea which saves human lives, of which the ICRC is a valuable instrument in its service. The integrity of this instrument must therefore be jealously guarded and handed down intact to successors, retaining all its effectiveness. This permanent preoccupation animated and characterized Léopold Boissier's tenure as

¹ Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Zurich, October 27, 1968.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

President. It sometimes led him to defend positions which might have appeared restrictive for fear of seeing the ICRC penetrate, to however small an extent, fields tainted by one or other political ideology. There is no doubt, however, that such intransigence contributed to making the real nature of the ICRC's neutrality better understood and accepted.

Following Max Huber's example, Léopold Boissier had himself previously set himself a time-limit for his tenure of office. On returning to private life he continued to serve the institution by articles in the press, lecturing and giving his balanced advice based on his rich experience as President.

At first sight, this former cavalry officer from an old Genevese family could appear cold, sharp and distant, as is sometimes the case with shy and sensitive people. On getting to know him better, one discovered that the frigid jurist was opposed to the juridical, that this incisive man was against the mathematical spirit, that he always respected an opponent in good faith and that this aloof-seeming person knew how to be very close to human suffering.

IN THE RED CROSS WORLD

CARIBBEAN EXPERIMENT

According to the old saying, prevention is better than cure, and this is taken as a guiding principle by National Red Cross Societies in the Caribbean area as well as by the League of Red Cross Societies. This was clear when representatives of those National Societies met in Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, from 22 to 30 June 1968, for a seminar on pre-disaster planning, organized jointly by the Trinidad and Tobago Red Cross and the League.

Why the Caribbean? Because every year the region is ravaged by hurricanes, cyclones and other natural disasters bringing ruin in their wake across vast areas of the land, causing many victims and considerable damage. The Trinidad and Tobago Red Cross, which experienced the tragedy of hurricane "Flora" which ravaged Tobago a few years ago, had for a long time considered it necessary to hold a seminar to study precautionary measures and the development of co-operation among National Societies of the region, particularly to cope with disaster. The proposal was approved at the VIIIth Inter-American Red Cross Conference at Bogota in November 1966, and again a year later at the League Board of Governors' meeting.

The purpose of the seminar was to consider existing pre-disaster plans and the possibility of developing inter-Society aid in the event of disaster. It had been preceded by a fact-finding mission undertaken by two League delegates, one of whom was made available by the American Red Cross (Mr. E. V. Bighinatti), which visited all the Red Cross Societies of the region to enquire into each country's preparedness. Its findings were communicated to

IN THE RED CROSS WORLD

the seminar which was attended by delegates from the National Societies of Barbados, the Dominican Republic, France, Great Britain, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Mexico, the Netherlands, the United States and Trinidad and Tobago, as well as by representatives from a dozen national and international organizations which had been invited to participate.

One of the seminar's most important and widely approved actions was the adoption of constructive recommendations. These were submitted to the League and should permit Caribbean National Societies to broaden the scope of their disaster relief when immediate action is called for. What was the gist of these recommendations?

The drawing up of disaster relief plans on a national scale, it was agreed, was imperative and governments should call attention to the special responsibilities of Red Cross Societies for disaster relief. In addition, the seminar urged that an approach be made to the United Nations Secretary General for part of the allocation from the Working Fund provided for by the U.N. General Assembly's resolution No. 2034 (XX) to be earmarked for pre-disaster relief planning and technical seminars connected with the preparation and organization of disaster relief programmes.

Other recommendations referred to the need for each National Society to maintain an up-to-date register of its trained voluntary workers, and to be immediately informed by the government authorities of any disaster or threat of disaster on their territory.

No doubt the most important of the resolutions adopted was the following:

This seminar recommends the establishment of a Caribbean Red Cross Centre for preparedness and disaster relief to enable each National Red Cross Society, chapter or branch, in the Caribbean to derive in a more rapid and efficient manner the complementary assistance necessary for disaster relief preparedness and the discharge of their mission in the event of major disaster.

In addition, the League was requested to agree to the holding of another seminar in the Caribbean for the purpose of continuing

IN THE RED CROSS WORLD

preparations for relief in the event of disaster in the region. This meeting might be held in the second quarter of 1970 and participants gratefully accepted the offer of the Haiti Red Cross to organize it at Port-au-Prince.

This new experiment in the Caribbean will undoubtedly have very important consequences for the future of the Red Cross in that part of the world. National Societies in the region are fully aware of the need to intensify the training of technical personnel not only to forecast disaster and warn the population, but also to give immediate assistance after the event. This is the more important as the Caribbean is a disaster prone region where constant preparedness is essential.

José GÓMEZ RUIZ

Head of Latin American and
Caribbean Service of the
League of Red Cross Societies

BOOKS AND REVIEWS

Tanzania: its own doctors at last, *World Health, World Health Organization, Geneva, July 1968.*

1968 will be marked by two important events in Tanzania. The country will welcome its first group of "home-grown" doctors—the first six graduates of the Dar es Salaam School of Medicine. Furthermore, the school will become a full-fledged Faculty of Medicine of the University of East Africa, through its affiliation with the University College, Dar es Salaam. The new graduates will receive their diplomas in medicine therefore from the University of East Africa when they graduate in July of this year.

These young Tanzanian doctors will pass their internship serving in a country hospital. Upon completion of their internship, the Ministry of Health will post them to health centres and thus increase the number of physicians in rural areas. Today, in the entire country, there are only one hundred Tanzanian doctors in private practice and eighty more employed by the Ministry of Health who work in health centres or outpatient clinics. Tanzania has an estimated population of 10 million. Even if one includes expatriate doctors in government service, there would only be about 1 physician for every 23,000 people in Tanzania. The overall estimate for East Africa is 1 per 12,000.

The Dar es Salaam School of Medicine was established by the Ministry of Health in April 1963 to alleviate the critical shortage of doctors in Tanzania. Its nucleus, the Medical Training Centre, was built in 1958, together with the Muhimbili Hospital which now provides students with clinical and outpatient experience.

The curriculum emphasizes preventive medicine and rural health practice and is specially oriented to meet the health problems of the country.

Students spend six months at the Rural Health Centre in Ifakara, nearly 300 miles from Dar es Salaam, for their practical training. Much of the teaching is closely integrated with paediatrics, obstetrics, health education and nutrition.

From only 16 students in 1963, school enrolment increased to 61 during 1967-1968, including three girls.

Several governments, national and international organizations have contributed material and technical assistance towards the construction and growth of the Dar es Salaam School of Medicine. They include the Rockefeller Foundation, the Basle Foundation for Aid to Developing Countries, the Swiss Tropical Institute, the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Glasgow University, the Swedish Government,

the British Government and UNICEF. Since 1965, the World Health Organization has been providing the services of tutors in internal medicine, biochemistry and physiology as well as some supplies, equipment and medical literature.

Tanzania became the second East African country to have a Faculty of Medicine; Uganda has its own at the Makerere College. However, in mid-1967, Kenya inaugurated the Nairobi Medical School and Zambia has plans to set up one at the University of Zambia in Lusaka.

The Public Health Nurse, *Revue suisse des infirmières*, Soleure, 1968, No.7

In Denmark and the United Kingdom, she does not give treatment. Her work is related to preventive and social rather than curative medicine. The greater part of her work is in people's homes, where she meets the people in their own surroundings, where she is concerned with maternal and child welfare hygiene, the aged, recently discharged hospital patients, the physically and mentally disabled; she carries out health controls and acts as schools nurse.

In Denmark her training consists of two years of work after obtaining her nursing diploma. If her three year study did not include obstetrics and psychiatry she must take a two-month course in the former and one of six months in the latter. If it did not include paediatrics she must train for three months in a home for healthy children of up to three years of age, and for three months in home nursing. She must also have worked in a dermatology, geriatric or emergency ward. She must then do a nine-month course in public health at the High School of Nursing at Aarhus.

In Great Britain the future public health nurse must have her nursing diploma or SRN (State Registered Nurse), taken midwifery courses and a one-year course in public health.

In rural districts the public health nurse is generally also a midwife and school nurse, and she also gives home nursing care.

The tendency is now to merge the two types of home nurse training. There would thus only be public health nurses capable of the most complicated nursing functions, acting as the family doctor's main assistant, co-operating with welfare officers and assisted by nurses having completed two years of training and by auxiliary nurses.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1968

Nos. 82-93

L. Boissier: The silence of the International Committee of the Red Cross, <i>April</i>	178
L. Boissier: War and Peace, <i>September</i>	447
W. J. Ford: Resistance movements and International Law (IV), <i>January</i>	7
J. Graven: Minimum rules for the protection of non-delinquent Detainees, <i>February</i>	59
H. Meyrowitz: Reflections on the Centenary of the Declaration of St. Petersburg, <i>December</i>	611
J. Patnogie: The Red Cross as a Factor of Peace, <i>June</i>	283
B. Peacey: Josephine Butler, "The Great Feminist", <i>November</i>	555
F. Siordet: The Red Cross and Human Rights, <i>March</i>	118
Protection of civilian populations against the dangers of indiscriminate warfare (F. Siordet), January	3
The structure, organisation and procedure of the International Conference of the Red Cross, February	71
International Year for Human Rights, March	115
Youth and Geneva Conventions, April	171
Twenty-First award of the Florence Nightingale Medal, May . .	227
The Red Cross as a Factor in World Peace, July	343
The Pathology of Captivity, September	450
Education for Peace and International Understanding, October . .	503

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

ACTIVITIES

JANUARY

Relief for Nigeria	26
<i>External Activities :</i>	
Rwanda - Nigeria - Vietnam - Near East - Yemen - Korea . . .	16
<i>In Geneva :</i>	
Vice-Presidency of the ICRC—Presidential Council	21
New Members of the ICRC	22
New Year Message	24

FEBRUARY

An Appeal by the International Committee—On behalf of victims of the conflict in Laos	74
<i>External Activities :</i>	
Middle East - Rwanda - Nigeria - Yemen - Vietnam - Greece - Aden	76
<i>In Geneva :</i>	
A Booklet on the Geneva Conventions	81

MARCH

Joint ICRC and League Appeal: Emergency Relief in Vietnam	135
The Requirements of Humanity in Vietnam	138
Yemen and Aden—As Narrated by two Doctors	149
<i>External Activities :</i>	
Korea - Laos - Thailand - Rwanda - Nigeria - Near East - Yemen - Aden	139
<i>In Geneva :</i>	
For victims of pseudo-medical experiments	146
At the Central Tracing Agency	146
Another ICRC Film	147

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APRIL	
ICRC Publications (1966-1967)	186
<i>External Activities :</i>	
Vietnam - Greece - Middle East	181
<i>In Geneva :</i>	
Death of a Member of the ICRC	184
MAY	
ICRC in Action in Nigeria	249
<i>External Activities :</i>	
Indonesia - Vietnam - Middle East - Yemen - Rwanda	257
<i>In Geneva :</i>	
Norway's King visits ICRC	262
Meetings in Geneva	265
Further accessions to the Geneva Conventions	266
JUNE	
Appeals by the International Committee—For the benefit of the victims of the Nigeria-Biafra conflict	295
Application of the Geneva Conventions—particularly the fourth—in territory occupied by Israel	301
<i>External Activities :</i>	
Middle East - Yemen - Vietnam - Laos - Latin America - Germany - Poland	304
JULY	
Twelfth Distribution of Revenue from the Augusta Fund (Circular No. 470)	352
Recognition of the Kuwait Red Crescent Society (Circular No. 471)	354
Annual Report 1967	364
ICRC financial situation in 1967	365
<i>External Activities :</i>	
Nigeria - Middle East - Yemen - Aden - Indonesia - Laos - Hungary	356
<i>In Geneva :</i>	
Guests at ICRC	363

TABLE OF CONTENTS

AUGUST

Help to war victims in Nigeria	395
Relief in 1967	407
<i>External Activities :</i>	
Hong Kong - Middle East - Yemen - Aden - Vietnam - Central America and Caribbean - Czechoslovakia, German Demo- cratic Republic and Poland	401
<i>In Geneva :</i>	
ICRC Presidential Council	406
Further participation in the Geneva Conventions	406
Discussion with United Nations Secretary-General	406
International Tracing Service	406

SEPTEMBER

Help to war victims in Nigeria	455
<i>External Activities :</i>	
Yemen - Aden - Middle East - Vietnam	463
<i>In Geneva :</i>	
Offer by the ICRC	465
Further Accession to the Geneva Conventions	465
New ICRC film	465

OCTOBER

Recognition of the Guyana Red Cross Society	514
Help to war victims in Nigeria	516
<i>External Activities :</i>	
Middle East - Yemen - Aden - Vietnam - Hong Kong - Greece . .	527
<i>In Geneva :</i>	
ICRC Delegates Meeting	533
Red Cross and Peace	534
National Society Representatives Conference	534
Further Participation in the Geneva Conventions	535
Meetings	535
For Victims of Pseudo-Medical Experiments	536

TABLE OF CONTENTS

NOVEMBER

Help to War Victims in Nigeria	571
After the death of two delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross	575
The ICRC action in the Middle East	588
<i>External Activities :</i>	
Sudan - Middle East - Yemen - Aden - Italy	581
<i>In Geneva :</i>	
Death of Léopold Boissier, Member and former President of the ICRC	585

DECEMBER

Help to War Victims in Nigeria	626
International Committee Action in the Arabian Peninsula	634
In Memory of Leopold Boissier	643
<i>External Activities :</i>	
Middle East - Mozambique - Vietnam - Austria and East Europe	637
<i>In Geneva :</i>	
For Victims of Pseudo-Medical Experiments	641
A new ICRC film	641
Course for officers	642
Further Accession to the Geneva Conventions	642

IN THE RED CROSS WORLD

The Henry Durant Institute, <i>January</i>	27
The shape of the emblem, <i>January</i>	28
Vietnam: Assistance given by several National Societies to vic- tims in the Republic of Vietnam, <i>January</i>	32
What role can the Algerian Red Crescent play in antituber- culosis campaign? (Dr. D. Larbaoui), <i>January</i>	33
21st World Red Cross Day, <i>February</i>	82
In Latin America: Three League of Red Cross Societies Semi- nars (J. Gómez Ruiz), <i>February</i>	86
Yugoslavia: Seminar on the dissemination of the Geneva Con- ventions amongst medical personnel, <i>February</i>	92

TABLE OF CONTENTS

What progress is being made in dissemination of knowledge of the Geneva Conventions? <i>April</i>	188
Algeria: Swedish Red Cross hands over orthopaedic centre to Algerian Red Crescent, <i>April</i>	196
Netherlands: Two publications commemorating Netherlands Red Cross Centenary, <i>April</i>	196
Rumania: Some aspects of Rumanian Red Cross Activity, <i>April</i>	199
USSR: Illustrated booklet, published in Moscow, for the Centenary of the Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, <i>April</i>	201
International Red Cross, <i>May</i>	267
Meeting of League President and Vice-Presidents, <i>May</i>	267
Joint Commission of the Empress Shôken Fund, <i>June</i>	309
Vietnam: Relief to civilian and military victims, <i>June</i>	313
League Mission in Central and East Africa (N. Phillips), <i>June</i>	322
Kenya: The model village of Kirathimo, <i>June</i>	326
Italy: Extract of conference by Miss Katz at Trieste during events in honour of the Red Cross, <i>June</i>	328
Henry Dunant Institute: A panel discussion on the Modern State and the Red Cross, <i>June</i>	331
Turkey: Centenary Celebration of the National Society, <i>July</i>	379
World Red Cross Day, <i>August</i>	416
Junior Red Cross, <i>August</i>	418
Afghanistan: Social assistance of the Afghan Red Crescent, <i>August</i>	422
Burundi: Red Cross activities and report by Mr. J. Pascalis on the work of young first-aiders, <i>August</i>	422
Ecuador: Monthly bulletin and activities of Ecuadorean Red Cross, <i>August</i>	424
France: Inauguration of the <i>Institut international de formation de cadres de Bois-Lorris</i> for masseurs-kinetherapists, founded by the French Red Cross, <i>August</i>	425
Vietnam (Democratic Republic): Activities of the Red Cross Society, <i>August</i>	425
World Red Cross Day 1969, <i>September</i>	466
The Red Cross in New Guinea, <i>September</i>	467
Standing Commission of the International Red Cross, <i>October</i>	537
League of Red Cross Societies, <i>October</i>	538
Panel discussion on the Modern State and the Red Cross (Henry Dunant Institute), <i>November</i>	591
Red Cross at International Welfare Conference, <i>November</i>	593

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Hospital Ship " Helgoland ", <i>November</i>	594
Award of the Nansen Medal to a member of the Red Cross, <i>November</i>	595
India: Activities of the Red Cross Society in 1967, <i>November</i> . .	595
Switzerland: Swiss Red Cross medical mission, <i>November</i> . . .	596
Caribbean Experiment, <i>December</i>	645

MISCELLANEOUS

A man of science speaks to the Board of Governors, <i>January</i> . .	37
Refugees in the Middle East, <i>January</i>	38
Medicine in the Modern World, <i>January</i>	39
Doctors' Rights in War, <i>February</i>	95
Protection of Cultural Property, <i>February</i>	98
The first International Health Organisation, <i>February</i>	99
Dissemination of the Geneva Conventions, <i>February</i>	102
Legal Assistance to Refugees and Migrants, <i>February</i>	103
N.G.O. Conference on International Year for Human Rights, <i>March</i>	153
International Conference on Social Welfare, <i>March</i>	154
Health in the World of Tomorrow, <i>March</i>	155
To Improve Nursing, <i>March</i>	160
The European Convention on Human Rights, <i>April</i>	203
Help for the Disabled, <i>April</i>	210
Buddhist Monks in Health Education, <i>April</i>	212
Radio for the Sick, <i>April</i>	214
Third Congress of the Neutrality of Medicine, <i>June</i>	334
World Health Organization Twentieth Anniversary, <i>July</i>	382
European Agreement on Nursing Standards, <i>July</i>	384
A Tracing Service in 1817, <i>August</i>	427
A Resolution on Human Rights in Armed Conflicts, <i>September</i> .	472
Dissemination of the Principles of the Humanitarian Conventions, <i>September</i>	475
Third International Congress of the Neutrality of Medicine, <i>Sep-</i> <i>tember</i>	476
Present Welfare Work Problems, <i>September</i>	483
Rehabilitation of the Disabled in Poland, <i>September</i>	484
International Narcotics Supervision, <i>September</i>	490

TABLE OF CONTENTS

UNESCO and the Struggle against various Forms of Discrimination, <i>October</i>	542
---	-----

BOOKS

Hans G. Knitel: "Les délégations du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge"—Michael Bothe: "Le droit de la guerre et les Nations Unies" (J.-G. Lossier), <i>January</i>	41
"Clara Barton and Dansville" (J.-G. Lossier), <i>January</i>	44
Francisco Montull y Rosell: "Conversaciones con la Cruz Roja" (J.-G. Lossier), <i>January</i>	46
Götz Fehr: "Geschichte der Menschlichkeit" (J.-G. Lossier), <i>April</i>	216
René Maheu: "La civilisation de l'universel" (J.-G. Lossier), <i>April</i>	217
A. Schlögel: "Volkerrechtliche Probleme auf der XX. Internationalen Rotkreuzkonferenz in Wien" (J. de Preux), <i>August</i>	429
Daisy Caroline Bridges: "A History of the International Council of Nurses" (J.-G. Lossier), <i>August</i>	430
W. von Stark: "Internationale und Nationale Rechtsstellung des Roten Kreuzes" (J. de Preux), <i>September</i>	494
Peter Vogelsanger: "Max Huber" (J.-G. Lossier), <i>October</i>	545
"Kampf ohne Waffen" (J.-G. Lossier), <i>November</i>	600

PLATES

Vietnam: Loading at Hanover of units of a Field Hospital being sent by the ICRC to the Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.—Artist's impression of the 60 bed field hospital consigned to the Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, <i>January</i>	16
Yemen: Convoy of Food and Medical Supplies makes a stop in the Jauf Desert on the way to the ICRC medical teams in the eastern sector of the Yemen.—Doctor-delegate treating a casualty, <i>February</i>	80
Aden: ICRC surgeons operating at government hospital in the South Yemen Republic, <i>February</i>	80

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Syria: ICRC delegate distributes blankets to refugees, <i>February</i>	81
Vietnam: Cholon, Republic of Vietnam, February 1968: The sad plight of displaced persons, <i>March</i>	136
Laos: Ban Dane: Distribution of blankets and mosquito netting by the ICRC delegate in Laos, <i>March</i>	140
The Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Laos examining a medical kit, donated by the ICRC, being shown him by the President of the Lao Red Cross and the delegate of the ICRC, <i>March</i>	141
Florence Nightingale Medal: Twenty-First Award, <i>May</i>	240
Nigeria: Nsukka—A Finnish Red Cross nurse on the ICRC relief programme issuing pills, <i>May</i>	248
Achi hospital in the secessionist state of Nigeria (Biafra): ICRC doctor-delegates tend the wounded and sick, <i>May</i>	249
In Geneva: Norway's King visits ICRC, <i>May</i>	264
Nigeria: The ICRC gives aid to the wounded and ensures the distribution of powdered milk, <i>June</i>	300
Geneva: Medicines and vitamins for Biafra being loaded on aircraft, <i>June</i>	301
Yemen: An ICRC relief column crossing the desert halts before continuing its journey, <i>June</i>	304
Nigeria: Distribution of relief by the Red Cross in Nigeria and Biafra, <i>July</i>	356
At Geneva airport, two doctors, an anaesthetist and a male nurse preparing to leave for Biafra where, under the ICRC's emblem, a member of the Lutheran medical mission gives treatment to the civilian population, <i>August</i>	400
In Geneva: Loading a DC6 chartered by the ICRC which will strengthen the air lift aid to the victims of famine in Biafra, <i>August</i>	401
World Red Cross Day 1968: Ladies of the Tunisian Red Crescent distributing toys in a school—President of the Haitian Red Cross presents a boy-scout with the Red Cross first-aider's certificate, <i>August</i>	424
Afghanistan: Clothing and food distribution by the Red Crescent, <i>August</i>	425
Burundi: A Red Cross first-aid course, <i>August</i>	425
Help to war victims in Nigeria: Biafran child in transit centre of the ICRC, near Umuahia; Refugees from conflict arriving at ICRC transit and feeding centre; An injured man being treated by ICRC doctor-delegate at Uturu Red Cross centre; Distribution of relief supplies to refugees, <i>October</i>	516

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Greece: A vessel hired by the ICRC approaching the detention centre on Yaros island where the families it conveys will meet their members in detention, <i>October</i>	532
Vietnam: In a Saigon suburb—An ICRC doctor-delegate examines patients in an ambulance of the Red Cross of the Republic of Vietnam, <i>October</i>	532
Aden: The oldest member of the former reigning family of the Yemen at the airport, helped by two ICRC delegates who organized her departure to a country of asylum, <i>October</i> . .	533
They Died on Red Cross Service—Robert Carlsson and Dr. Dragán Hercóg, <i>November</i>	576
Nigeria: Each week the refugees gather for the food distribution, <i>November</i>	584
Sudan: On the outskirts of Khartoum, families from the South are given material by an ICRC delegate, <i>November</i>	585
Secessionist province of Biafra: Supplies to Ikot-Umo-Essien refugee camp, <i>December</i>	628
Loading, at Santa Isabel, a "Hercules" chartered by the Swedish Red Cross, <i>December</i>	629
Refugees wait at the Red Cross distribution centre at Udo.—	632
A doctor distributing vitamins in the Nto-Edino refugee camp, <i>December</i>	633

EXTRACT FROM THE STATUTES OF
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

(AGREED AND AMENDED ON SEPTEMBER 25, 1952)

ART. 1. — The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) founded in Geneva in 1863 and formally recognized in the Geneva Conventions and by International Conferences of the Red Cross, shall be an independent organization having its own Statutes.

It shall be a constituent part of the International Red Cross.¹

ART. 2. — As an association governed by Articles 60 and following of the Swiss Civil Code, the ICRC shall have legal personality.

ART. 3. — The headquarters of the ICRC shall be in Geneva.

Its emblem shall be a red cross on a white ground. Its motto shall be “*Inter arma caritas*”.

ART. 4. — The special rôle of the ICRC shall be:

- (a) to maintain the fundamental and permanent principles of the Red Cross, namely: impartiality, action independent of any racial, political, religious or economic considerations, the universality of the Red Cross and the equality of the National Red Cross Societies;
- (b) to recognize any newly established or reconstituted National Red Cross Society which fulfils the conditions for recognition in force, and to notify other National Societies of such recognition;

¹ The International Red Cross comprises the National Red Cross Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies. The term “National Red Cross Societies” includes the Red Crescent Societies and the Red Lion and Sun Society.

- (c) to undertake the tasks incumbent on it under the Geneva Conventions, to work for the faithful application of these Conventions and to take cognizance of any complaints regarding alleged breaches of the humanitarian Conventions;
- (d) to take action in its capacity as a neutral institution, especially in case of war, civil war or internal strife; to endeavour to ensure at all times that the military and civilian victims of such conflicts and of their direct results receive protection and assistance, and to serve, in humanitarian matters, as an intermediary between the parties;
- (e) to contribute, in view of such conflicts, to the preparation and development of medical personnel and medical equipment, in co-operation with the Red Cross organizations, the medical services of the armed forces, and other competent authorities;
- (f) to work for the continual improvement of humanitarian international law and for the better understanding and diffusion of the Geneva Conventions and to prepare for their possible extension;
- (g) to accept the mandates entrusted to it by the International Conferences of the Red Cross.

The ICRC may also take any humanitarian initiative which comes within its rôle as a specifically neutral and independent institution and consider any questions requiring examination by such an institution.

ART. 6 (first paragraph). — The ICRC shall co-opt its members from among Swiss citizens. The number of members may not exceed twenty-five.

THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW¹

by

Jean Pictet

Director-General, International
Committee of the Red Cross
Lecturer at Geneva University

In this sixty-page book the writer defines fully and with concision humanitarian law in its widest sense, the laws of war of The Hague and Geneva, and the principles which form the basis for this humanitarian law.

This clear summary is understandable to everybody interested in humanitarian ideas and actions in the world today. In addition, the appendix is a chart of the principles of humanitarian law.

It will be recalled that an earlier work by this author, *The Principles of the Red Cross*, gives the general reader a clear exposition of its subject. Copies of this book, which has already had considerable success, are available in French, English, German and Spanish, from the ICRC Geneva, which published the book.

¹ *The Principles of International Humanitarian Law* can be obtained from the ICRC, 7 avenue de la Paix, 1211 Geneva (postal cheque account No. 12-5527). Cost Sw.fr. 8.—.

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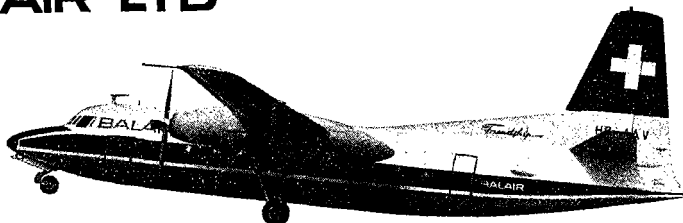
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- AFGHANISTAN — Afghan Red Crescent, *Kabul*.
- ALBANIA — Albanian Red Cross, 35, Rruga Barrikadavet, *Tirana*.
- ALGERIA — Central Committee of the Algerian Red Crescent Society, 15 bis Boulevard Mohamed V, *Algiers*.
- ARGENTINE — Argentine Red Cross, H. Yrigoyen 2068, *Buenos Aires*.
- AUSTRALIA — Australian Red Cross, 122-128 Flinders Street, *Melbourne, C. 1*.
- AUSTRIA — Austrian Red Cross, 3 Gusshausstrasse, Postfach 39, *Vienna IV*.
- BELGIUM — Belgian Red Cross, 98, Chaussée de Vleurgat, *Brussels 5*.
- BOLIVIA — Bolivian Red Cross, Avenida Simon-Bolivar, 1515 (Casilla 741), *La Paz*.
- BRAZIL — Brazilian Red Cross, Praça da Cruz Vermelha 10-12, *Rio de Janeiro*.
- BULGARIA — Bulgarian Red Cross, 1, Boul. S.S. Biruzov, *Sofia*.
- BURMA — Burma Red Cross, 42, Strand Road, Red Cross Building, *Rangoon*.
- BURUNDI — Red Cross Society of Burundi, rue du Marché 3, P.O. Box 1324, *Bujumbura*.
- CAMBODIA — Cambodian Red Cross, 17 R. Vithei Croix-Rouge, P.O.B. 94, *Phnom-Penh*.
- CAMEROON — Central Committee of the Cameroon Red Cross Society, rue Henry-Dunant, P.O.B. 631, *Yaoundé*.
- CANADA — Canadian Red Cross, 95 Wellesley Street East, *Toronto 5*.
- CEYLON — Ceylon Red Cross, 106 Dharma-pala Mawatte, *Colombo VII*.
- CHILE — Chilean Red Cross, Avenida Santa Maria 0150, Casilla 246 V., *Santiago de Chile*.
- CHINA — Red Cross Society of China, 22 Kanmien Hutung, *Peking, E*.
- COLOMBIA — Colombian Red Cross, Carrera 7a, 34-65 Apartado nacional 1110, *Bogotá D.E.*
- CONGO — Red Cross of the Congo, 41, Avenue Valcke, P.O. Box 1712, *Kinshasa*.
- COSTA RICA — Costa Rican Red Cross, Calle 5a Apartado 1025, *San José*.
- CUBA — Cuban Red Cross, Ignacio Agramonte, 461, *Havana*.
- CZECHOSLOVAKIA — Czechoslovak Red Cross, Thunovska 18, *Prague I*.
- DAHOMEY — Red Cross Society of Dahomey, P.O. Box 1, *Porto-Novo*.
- DENMARK — Danish Red Cross, Ny Vestergade 17, *Copenhagen K*.
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC — Dominican Red Cross, Calle Galvan 24, Apartado 1293, *Santo Domingo*.
- ECUADOR — Ecuadorean Red Cross, Calle de la Cruz Roja y Avenida Colombia 118, *Quito*.
- ETHIOPIA — Ethiopian Red Cross, Red Cross Road No. 1, P.O. Box 195, *Addis Ababa*.
- FINLAND — Finnish Red Cross, Tehtaankatu 1 A, Box 14168, *Helsinki 14*.
- FRANCE — French Red Cross, 17, rue Quentin-Bauchart, *Paris (8e)*.
- GERMANY (Dem. Republic) — German Red Cross in the German Democratic Republic, Kaitzerstrasse 2, *Dresden A. 1*.
- GERMANY (Federal Republic) — German Red Cross in the Federal Republic of Germany, Friedrich-Ebert-Allee 71, 5300 *Bonn 1*, Postfach (D.B.R.).
- GHANA — Ghana Red Cross, P.O. Box 835, *Accra*.
- GREAT BRITAIN — British Red Cross, 14 Grosvenor Crescent, *London, S.W.1*.
- GREECE — Hellenic Red Cross, rue Lycavittou 1, *Athens 135*.
- GUATEMALA — Guatemalan Red Cross, 3.º Calle 8-40 zona 1, *Guatemala C.A.*
- GUYANA — Guyana Red Cross, P.O. Box 351, Eve Leary, *Georgetown*.
- HAITI — Haiti Red Cross, rue Férou, *Port-au-Prince*.
- HONDURAS — Honduran Red Cross, Calle Henry Dunant 516, *Tegucigalpa*.
- HUNGARY — Hungarian Red Cross, Arany Janos utca 31, *Budapest V*.
- ICELAND — Icelandic Red Cross, Ölduggætu 4, *Reykjavík*, Post Box 872.
- INDIA — Indian Red Cross, 1 Red Cross Road, *New Delhi 1*.
- INDONESIA — Indonesian Red Cross, Tanah Abang Barat 66, P.O. Box 2009, *Djakarta*.
- IRAN — Iranian Red Lion and Sun Society, Avenue Ark, *Teheran*.
- IRAQ — Iraqi Red Crescent, Al-Mansour, *Baghdad*.
- IRELAND — Irish Red Cross, 16 Merrion Square, *Dublin 2*.
- ITALY — Italian Red Cross, 12, via Toscana, *Rome*.
- IVORY COAST — Ivory Coast Red Cross Society, B.P. 1244, *Abidjan*.
- JAMAICA — Jamaica Red Cross Society, 76 Arnold Road, *Kingston 5*.
- JAPAN — Japanese Red Cross, 5 Shiba Park, Minato-Ku, *Tokyo*.
- JORDAN — Jordan Red Crescent, P.O. Box 1337, *Amman*.
- KENYA — Kenya Red Cross Society, St Johns Gate, P.O. Box 712, *Nairobi*.
- KOREA (Democratic Republic) — Red Cross Society of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, *Pyongyang*.
- KOREA (Republic) — The Republic of Korea National Red Cross, 32-3 Ka Nam San-Donk, *Seoul*.
- KUWAIT — Kuwait Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 1359, *Kuwait*.
- LAOS — Lao Red Cross, P.B. 650, *Vientiane*.
- LEBANON — Lebanese Red Cross, rue Général Spears, *Beirut*.
- LIBERIA — Liberian National Red Cross, National Headquarters, Corner of Tubman boulevard and 9th Street Sinkor, P.O. Box 226, *Monrovia*.

ADDRESSES OF CENTRAL COMMITTEES

- LIBYA — Libyan Red Crescent, Berka Omar Mukhtar Street, P.O. Box 541, *Benghazi*.
- LIECHTENSTEIN — Liechtenstein Red Cross, *Vaduz*.
- LUXEMBURG — Luxemburg Red Cross, Parc de la Ville, C.P. 234, *Luxemburg*.
- MADAGASCAR — Red Cross Society of Madagascar, rue Clemenceau, P.O. Box 1168, *Tananarive*.
- MALAYSIA — Malaysian Red Cross Society, 519 Jalan Belfield, *Kuala Lumpur*.
- MALI — Mali Red Cross, B.P. 280, route de Koulikora, *Bamako*.
- MEXICO — Mexican Red Cross, Avenida Ejército Nacional, n° 1032, *Mexico* 10, D.F.
- MONACO — Red Cross of Monaco, 27 Boul. de Suisse, *Monte-Carlo*.
- MONGOLIA — Red Cross Society of the Mongolian People's Republic, Central Post Office, Post Box 537, *Ulan-Bator*.
- MOROCCO — Moroccan Red Crescent, rue Benzakour, B.P. 189, *Rabat*.
- NEPAL — Nepal Red Cross Society, Tripureswore, P.B. 217, *Kathmandu*.
- NETHERLANDS — Netherlands Red Cross, 27 Prinsessegracht, *The Hague*.
- NEW ZEALAND — New Zealand Red Cross, 61 Dixon Street, P.O.B. 6073, *Wellington* C.2.
- NICARAGUA — Nicaraguan Red Cross, 12 Avenida Noroeste, *Managua*, D.N.
- NIGER — Red Cross Society of Niger, B.P. 386, *Niamey*.
- NIGERIA — Nigerian Red Cross Society, Eko Akete Close, off. St. Gregory Rd., Onikan, P.O. Box 764, *Lagos*.
- NORWAY — Norwegian Red Cross, Parkveien 33b, *Oslo*.
- PAKISTAN — Pakistan Red Cross, Frere Street, *Karachi* 4.
- PANAMA — Panamanian Red Cross, Apartado 668, *Panama*.
- PARAGUAY — Paraguayan Red Cross, calle André Barbero y Artigas 33, *Asunción*.
- PERU — Peruvian Red Cross, Jiron Chancay 881, *Lima*.
- PHILIPPINES — Philippine National Red Cross, 860 United Nations Avenue, P.O.B. 280, *Manila*.
- POLAND — Polish Red Cross, Mokotowska 14, *Warsaw*.
- PORTUGAL — Portuguese Red Cross, General Secretaryship, Jardim 9 de Abril, 1 a 5, *Lisbon* 3.
- RUMANIA — Red Cross of the Rumanian Socialist Republic, Strada Biserica Amzei 29, *Bucarest*.
- SALVADOR — Salvador Red Cross, 3a Avenida Norte y 3a Calle Poniente 21, *San Salvador*.
- SAN MARINO — San Marino Red Cross, Palais gouvernemental, *San Marino*.
- SAUDI ARABIA — Saudi Arabian Red Crescent, *Riyadh*.
- SENEGAL — Senegalese Red Cross Society, Bld. Franklin-Roosevelt, P.O.B. 299, *Dakar*.
- SIERRA LEONE — Sierra Leone Red Cross Society, 6 Liverpool Street, P.O.B. 427, *Freetown*.
- SOUTH AFRICA — South African Red Cross, Cor. Kruis & Market Streets, P.O.B. 8726, *Johannesburg*.
- SPAIN — Spanish Red Cross, Eduardo Dato 16, *Madrid*, 10.
- SUDAN — Sudanese Red Crescent, P.O. Box 235, *Khartoum*.
- SWEDEN — Swedish Red Cross, Artillerigatan 6, *Stockholm* 14.
- SWITZERLAND — Swiss Red Cross, Taubenstrasse 8, B.P. 2699, 3001 *Berne*.
- SYRIA — Syrian Red Crescent, 13, rue Abi-Ala-Almaari, *Damascus*.
- TANZANIA — Tanzania Red Cross Society, Upanga Road, P.O.B. 1133, *Dar es Salaam*.
- THAILAND — Thai Red Cross Society, King Chulalongkorn Memorial Hospital, *Bangkok*.
- TOGO — Togolese Red Cross Society, Avenue des Alliés 19, P.O. Box 655, *Lomé*.
- TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO — Trinidad and Tobago Red Cross Society, 48 Pembroke Street, P.O. Box 357, *Port of Spain*.
- TUNISIA — Tunisian Red Crescent, 19, rue d'Angleterre, *Tunis*.
- TURKEY — Turkish Red Crescent, Yenisehir, *Ankara*.
- UGANDA — Uganda Red Cross, 17 Jinja Road P.O. Box 494, *Kampala*.
- UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC — Red Crescent Society of the United Arab Republic, 34, rue Ramses, *Cairo*.
- UPPER VOLTA — Upper Volta Red Cross, P.O.B. 340, *Ouagadougou*.
- URUGUAY — Uruguayan Red Cross, Avenida 8 de Octubre, 2990, *Montevideo*.
- U.S.A. — American National Red Cross, 17th and D Streets, N.W., *Washington* 6 D.C.
- U.S.S.R. — Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Tcheremushki, J. Tcheremushkinskii proezd 5, *Moscow* W-36.
- VENEZUELA — Venezuelan Red Cross, Avenida Andrés Bello No. 4, Apart. 3185, *Caracas*.
- VIET NAM (Democratic Republic) — Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, 68, rue Bà-Trìèz, *Hanoi*.
- VIET NAM (Republic) — Red Cross of the Republic of Viet Nam, 201, đường Hồng-Thập-Tu, No. 201, *Saigon*.
- YUGOSLAVIA — Yugoslav Red Cross, Simina ulica broj 19, *Belgrade*.
- ZAMBIA — Zambia Red Cross, P.O. Box R. W. 1, Ridgeway, *Lusaka*.